

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 W  
-----082420 022338Z /75

O P 022309Z APR 78 ZFF-4  
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMCONSUL CAPETOWN PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTO 03079

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OVIP (CARTER, JIMMY), AF  
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA WESTERN FIVE RESPONSE TO SWAPO REQUEST FOR  
ASSURANCES ON WALVIS BAY

REF: TOSEC 030078

1. THE SECRETARY, OTHER U.S. OFFICIALS, AND U.K. HIGH  
COMMISSIONER FALLE MET TODAY WITH FOREIGN MINISTERS OF  
NIGERIA, ZAMBIA, BOTSWANNA, AND TANZANIA U.N. PERMREP SALIM  
TO DISCUSS NAMIBIA, PARTICULARLY WALVIS BAY. SUBJECT WAS ALSO  
DISCUSSED WITH GENERAL OBASANJO. IT WAS AGREED THAT WE WOULD  
PROPOSE TO SWAPO FORMULA ON WALVIS BAY SIMILAR TO THAT CONTAINED  
REFTEL.

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2. AS SOON AS POSSIBLE USUN SHOULD SEEK CONTACT GROUP  
AGREEMENT TO THE FOLLOWING RESPONSE TO NUJOMA QUESTION  
TO AMBASSADOR YOUNG ON WALVIS BAY: A PUBLIC STATEMENT  
BY THE FIVE TO THE EFFECT THAT WE SUPPORTED THE SWAPO  
VIEW THAT WALVIS BAY IS PART AND PARCEL OF NAMIBIA WOULD  
ALMOST CERTAINLY LEAD TO A BREAKDOWN IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS

WITH SOUTH AFRICA. HOWEVER, THE FIVE WOULD BE PREPARED TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING PUBLIC STATEMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF, REPEAT IN THE CONTEXT, OF SWAPO'S PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE OF THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL.

-- WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO TAKE A POSITION ON THE COMPLEX LEGAL CLAIMS OF THE PARTIES.

-- GEOGRAPHICALLY, ADMINISTRATIVELY AND ECONOMICALLY THERE ARE STRONG ARGUMENTS FOR INCLUDING WALVIS BAY AS A PART OF AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA. THE ETHNIC AND CULTURAL TIES BETWEEN THE INHABITANTS OF WALVIS BAY AND THE REST OF NAMIBIA ARE ALSO COMPELLING.

-- IN THEIR EFFORT TO FIND AN INTERNATIONALLY-ACCEPTABLE NEGOTIATED SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF NAMIBIA IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 355, THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS TAKE THE POSITION THAT A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF WALVIS BAY MUST BE RESOLVED IN POLITICAL RATHER THAN LEGAL CONTEXT. THERE MUST BE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIAN STATE AND SOUTH AFRICA.

-- WE BELIEVE THAT THE ECONOMIC, GEOGRAPHIC, POLITICAL, ETHNIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE CONSIDERATIONS OUTLINED ABOVE ARE OF SUFFICIENT STRENGTH THAT THE OUTCOME OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE THAT WALVIS BAY SHOULD BE PART OF CONFIDENTIAL

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NAMIBIA. IN LINE WITH THEIR CONTINUED INTEREST IN NAMIBIA, MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP WOULD BE PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF THE PARTIES TO ASSIST IN FINDING SUCH A SOLUTION.

3. IN DISCUSSING THE ABOVE WITH SWAPO WE WOULD REITERATE OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT IN THE INTERIM PERIOD, THE SIZE OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES IN WALVIS BAY WOULD NOT BE INCREASED, THAT PROVISIONS WOULD BE MADE FOR NAMIBIANS IN WALVIS BAY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS AND THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAS AGREED THAT ALL ASPECTS OF THE WALVIS BAY QUESTION SHOULD BE SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATIONS.

4. WE WOULD ALSO STRESS TO SWAPO THAT THE WALVIS BAY ISSUE, WHILE IMPORTANT, IS NOT PARAMOUNT AND THREATENS, THROUGH ITS TEMPORARY INSOLUBILITY, THE ENTIRE NEGOTIATION PROCESS. IN OUR VIEW IT WOULD CLEARLY BE SELF-DEFEATING FOR SWAPO TO PASS UP THE OPPORTUNITY PRESENTED BY THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL IN THE MISTAKEN BELIEF THAT IT CAN MAXIMIZE ITS POSITION THROUGH FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS.

5. IN DISCUSSING THE ABOVE WITHIN THE CONTACT GROUP USUN

SHOULD POINT OUT THAT THE ABOVE FORMULA, WHILE DIFFICULT FOR THE SOUTH AFRICANS, PROBABLY MEETS THEIR MINIMUM CONDITIONS ON THIS POINT. MOREOVER SOUTH AFRICA IS AWARE THAT MOST NAMIBIAN GROUPS INCLUDING THE TURNHALLE HAVE COME OUT FOR ULTIMATE INCLUSION OF WALVIS BAY IN NAMIBIA.

6. THE SECRETARY INFORMED THE FRONT LINE REPRESENTATIVES THAT THE U.S. WOULD REPEAT WOULD MAKE A STATEMENT ALONG THE ABOVE LINES IN THE CONTEXT OF SWAPO'S PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE OF PROPOSALS. HOWEVER, HE INDICATED THAT WE WOULD HOPE TO GET THIS POSITION ADOPTED BY THE CONTACT GROUP AS WHOLE. WE WOULD TAKE THE MATTER UP WITH THE OTHER FOUR GOVERNMENTS  
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ON MONDAY, MARCH 3.

7. FOR OTHER ACTION ADDRESSEES: SINCE WE WISH TO ACHIEVE QUICK AGREEMENT WITHIN CONTACT GROUP, ACTION ADDRESSEES SHOULD RAISE THIS MATTER AT APPROPRIATE LEVELS AND EMPHASIZE NEED FOR QUICK DECISION.

8. OUR HOPE IS THAT CAPITALS WOULD PROVIDE THE NECESSARY INSTRUCTIONS TO THEIR REPRESENTATIVES FOR MONDAY MEETING OF THE CONTACT GROUP IN NEW YORK. IF POSSIBLE, WE WOULD THEN COMMUNICATE THE ABOVE TO SWAPO AND THE FRONT LINE STATES ON TUESDAY. VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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**Concepts:** SECTO, NATIONAL SECURITY GUARANTEES, TERRITORIAL CLAIMS, WALVIS BAY  
**Control Number:** n/a  
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**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Subject:** NAMIBIA WESTERN FIVE RESPONSE TO SWAPO REQUEST FOR ASSURANCES ON WALVIS BAY  
**TAGS:** OVIP, PDEV, PBOR, AF, SF, WA, US, UK, CA, FR, GE, SWAPO, (CARTER, JIMMY),  
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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014